

1873.]

487

[Gabb,

On the Atlantic slope, there are three tribes intimately allied socially, politically, and religiously, but differing markedly in language. The Cabecars occupy the country from the frontiers of civilization to the western side of the Coen branch of the Tiliri or Sicsola River. Adjoining them, the Bri-bri occupy the east side of the Coen, all the regions of the Lari, Uren, and Zhorquin and the valley lying around the mouths of these streams. The Tiribria, now reduced to barely a hundred souls, live in two villages on the Tilorio or Changinola River. It is said that on the head waters of the Changina, a large fork of this latter stream, there are yet a few individuals of the Changina tribe, but the other Indians report them as implacably hostile and their very existence is only known by vague reports of their savage neighbors. The Shelaba tribe, formerly living on the lower part of the same river is now entirely extinct. A few half-breeds are all who perpetuate the blood, and their language is utterly lost. Still further down the coast, beyond the Costa Rican boundaries is another allied tribe, partly civilized, in so far as that they trade and work a little and drink a great deal of bad rum, spending most of their earnings on that bane of the race. They are called by foreigners Vallientes. Crossing over to the Pacific slope, the Terrabas are tribally identical with the Tiribria. The tradition still exists in a vague form, that they are emigrants from the Atlantic side; but when or why the emigration took place, is forgotten. The home of the tribe is in a very narrow, rough cañon, traversed by a river that might better be called a torrent, a country strongly contrasted with the fertile plains and broad savannas of Terraba, and it is not improbable that under the press of a crowded population several migrations took place. They still tell how, twenty or thirty years ago, a priest came over from Terraba, baptized all who would submit to the rite, and by glowing stories of the abundance of meat and other inducements that he shrewdly imagined would tempt them, carried off over a dozen of their best men, who never returned. A glance at the vocabulary will show how little separated are these two branches of the tribe in language. The Borucas or Bruncas, who occupy a little village, not far from the headquarters of the Terrabas, are apparently the older occupants of the soil; perhaps crowded into a corner by the invaders.

Other tribal names are mentioned by various authors, such as Biceita, &c. The name Biceita is not known in the country, and, although used to the present day outside of the Indian country, is unknown to them, or at best, is supposed to be a Spanish word. The district of that name is probably the western part of Bri-bri, the most eastern point to which the slave-hunting expeditions from San José Cabecar penetrated. The Blancos are properly the Bri-bri tribe, but this word is rather loosely used, and is often applied alike to the Cabecars and Tiribria.

But little can be gathered of the history of these people. What happened in the times of their grandfathers is already ancient history and partly forgotten. All recollection of the first arrival of the Spaniards is now lost. They have no traditions of the use of stone implements before the introduction of metal. When asked what they did for axes before the traders

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

43

NOTES ON THE BRIBRI OF
COSTA RICA

By ALANSON SKINNER

INTRODUCTION



BELONGING to the Chibchan linguistic stock are the Bribri Indians, a small but primitive tribe inhabiting the mountainous district watered by the eastern branches of the Teliri river near the central southern boundary of Costa Rica and extending into northern Panama. They have been visited by a number of observers, including Dr William M. Gabb¹ (whose valuable account we have not hesitated to quote extensively) and Dr Henry Pittier de Fabrega.² 131 • [197] 114

The writer spent the months of March and April, 1917, in collecting among these Indians for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, at which time the

INDIAN NOTES

VI

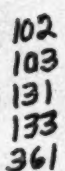


FIG. 1. Map of the southeastern region of the Republic of Costa Rica.

[p. ii]

GEOGRAPHY

- 131 THE country of the *Boruca* lies in the southeastern section of Costa Rica (see fig. 1, frontispiece) starting from the upper end of the flood plain of the Río Grande de Térraba, or, as we prefer to call it in the present paper, the Diquis River. Diquis is the older
- 103 appellation, and is the name most frequently used in Costa Rican geographies, being an Hispanic form of the *Boruca* words *dik*, meaning "water" and *krit* or *krjta*, meaning "large." It is from this also that the term *Rio Grande* or "Large River" has evolved. The name
- [101] *Térraba* is more recent, and is due to the one-time important community of *Térraba* Indians who were moved to the upper reaches of the Diquis River from the Talamanca region around 1700 by Fray Pablo de Rebullida.¹
- 131 The land of the *Boruca* follows the river northward on both sides to a short distance above Curré. This territory includes the section of the Changuena River on the east, and most of the Cordillera Bruqueña, which is the Maritime Range, on the west and east.
- 162 Within this limited area, the *Boruca* have five
- 361 settlements. The largest of these is Boruca with forty-seven houses, and three hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, the majority of whom can be classed as Indian without *ladino* or white
- [Text continues on top of page 3-B]

EARLY

- 101 What was included in the original territory
- 175 of the *Boruca*, we cannot say. The term, which we find spelled *Burucac*, appears to have been first used by Juan Vázquez de Coronado in a letter to the king, written in 1563.² He unfortunately does not delimit their location. It is obvious, however, that they formed a single unit or tribe. Throughout the early literature, allusion is made to the *Borucas* as *indios infieles y de guerra*,³ who apparently fought with many of their neighbors as well as the Spaniards. Later during the Conquest, the term was applied to

[Text continues at bottom of p. 3-B]

¹ Fernández, 1907, tom. IX, p. 502; tom. III, p. 327. footnote 8. Peralta, 1938, p. 415 gives the date 1697 for the transferal of these people.

² Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 37.

³ See Fernández, 1907, vol. VIII, pp. 99, 462.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE.

VOL. XVI. — JANUARY-MARCH, 1903. — No. LX.

FOLK-LORE OF THE BRIBRI AND BRUNKA INDIANS IN COSTA RICA.

This is, I believe, the first attempt to collect the tales and legends still preserved among the Costa Rican Indians. My primary object in compiling them was to obtain original texts for the study of the languages of the tribes mentioned, and a few of these texts, all belonging to the Bribri, have already been published in German, in the "Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien."¹

As far as our very imperfect knowledge of the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of Costa Rica allows us to admit, the bulk of the population consisted at the time of the Spanish conquest of five or six main groups, differentiated essentially by their languages. The *Chorotegas*, in the peninsula of Nicoya, belonged to a northern stock, as did the small *Nakus* colonies scattered among them. The *Votos* or *Corobicies* occupied the low plains along the San Juan River and the northwestern end of the main cordillera; they are still represented to-day, at the headwaters of the Rio Frio Valley, by the ill-fated Guatos, whose complete disappearance is a question of only a few years. The *Huastars*, *Huistars* or *Gustars* extended all over the central part of the country; they have become extinct, or are mixed up and lost among the present half-bred or Spanish population in the densely inhabited strip between Port Limon and Puntarenas; but far to the east, in the valleys which originate in the highest region of the cordillera, and descend towards the Caribbean Sea (Chirripó, Estrella, Tarire, Coen, Arárl, Uren), there still live in an isolated state about 1500 of their descendants, divided into the two chief groups of the *Cabécaras* (including the Chirripóes and other scattered families) and the *Vyceltas*, *Blancos*, or *Bribri*. The *Tirub*, *Téribes*, or *Térrubas* formed another stock, once powerful, but reduced to-day to a miserable handful located near the headwaters

¹ H. Pittier de Fabrega, *Die Sprache der Bribri Indianer in Costa Rica*, etc. 1894, vol. cxxviii.

- 101 of the Tararia, and to the small and somewhat intermixed colony of
131 Terraba in the Diquis Valley, on the Pacific slope. On this latter
side of the country and south of the Huétaru were the *Quepas* and
the *Brunka* or *Cotos*; the first have now disappeared entirely, and
may have belonged to the Huétaru stock. The Brunka still number
[162] from 300 to 400, and live together in the comparatively flourishing
settlement of Boruca, near Terraba, in the Diquis Valley.

The Bribri have been the object of my special attention for some
114 years past, and among them I have collected most of the legends
773 and traditions I am now preparing for publication. Nos. 1-5 of the
following tales belong to them. Nos. 6 and 7 have been obtained
from the Brunka. Nos. 1-6 have their origin in the heathen past of
our Indians, while the legend of Don Pedro Cascante belongs evidently
to a period when the Christian influence had already made itself felt.
Nos. 1-4 give us an idea as to what the primitive religion of our
[176] Costa Rican Indian was like: a supreme and almighty God, *Sibá*,
surrounded by secondary divinities, *Sórkura*, *Jáburu*, etc., some of
them good, others evil ones, and both eternally playing tricks upon
each other. The notion of all men having been born from seeds like
773 the plants is original and possibly new, as well as the continuous
fighting of the genii, good and bad, for the possession of these seeds.
No. 4 is especially interesting because of the rôle played by the
[171] skunk, that favorite and artful trickster of the North American In-
[825] dian legends. Among the Bribri and Cabécara Indians, the skunk
is also a prototype of cunning and subtlety, and he figures in several
other tales which I have heard, but have not been able yet to record.

I. HOW JÁBURU ATE THE SEED¹ OF OUR KIN.

599 Surá, the good God, had gone to see his cornfield. While he was
[776] away, Jáburu, the evil One, came and ate the seed of our kin which
the almighty Sibá had given Surá to take care of. When Surá re-
turned home, Jáburu murdered him, and buried his corpse in a hole
behind the house; on the grave he planted a cacao-tree and a cala-
bash-tree.

Then Sibá, the almighty God, resolved also to kill Jáburu. Mov-
ing away, he went to Jáburu's house, and talked to him: "O Thou,
uncle of mine, let us have our chocolate!" But Jáburu replied: "I

¹ According to the traditions of our Costa Rican Indians, every man or animal was originally born from a seed like that of a plant. The seeds of the several races of man were kept in baskets which were intrusted by Sibá to the keeping of the good deities. The evil ones, on the other hand, were constantly hunting for them, and this was the origin of continuous incidents, the relation of which has come down to the heathen Indians of to-day in the form of legends like the present one.

101 There are seven tribes of those heathens who are known as
 131 *Talamancas*; the first is that of the same name, which embraces
 two others called *Cabécar* and *Bicryto*; the second is called
Térrobo; the third, *Thórar*, on account of living upon an island
 of that name on the coast of the North Sea;¹¹ the fourth is
 named *Changuen*; the fifth is called *Zeguo*; the sixth, *Thorasque*,
 and the seventh, *Guaymí*. Of these the last three are in the dis-
 tricts of the Kingdom of *Tierra Firme*, and the first four in this
 district of *Guatemala*.¹²

721 The Indians of all these tribes are generally brave and warlike;
 [411] for their most common exercise is to go about with bows and
 spears practicing for their wars, which they are generally engaged
 in with each other for the purpose of enslaving the men and
 carrying off the women. The sport and diversion of the boys is
 [868] to shoot arrows and throw spears and they thus become very
 [957] skilfull in the handling of them.

291 All the men of these tribes go entirely naked, only the *Taja-*
mancas covering their private parts with girdles. The women
 all wear the girdle down to the knee, or use a blanket, which they
 [286] weave from cotton or with *mastate* (a bark fibre) which they get
 by cutting trees.

304 The greatest sport of these barbarians is to paint themselves
 black over the whole of their bodies, which they do with the
 [302] greatest hardness, allowing themselves to be scarified by the
 experts whom they have among them, and over the bleeding
 places they put *copal*,¹³ which makes them swell up, and some
 even die by being cut in delicate parts, such as the face, neck
 and elsewhere. When they kill an enemy in war, they make a
 304 hole with a peg of strong wood and they drill the cartilage of the
 554 nose, as well as the lower lip; and when they have opened these
 two holes they put in each one of them a little bone like a cigar-

¹¹ The island of *Tójar* or Island of *Colón*.

[14] ¹² The enumeration which Padre Urcullu made was not strictly correct,
 inasmuch as the *Zeguas*, *Thorasques* or *Dorasques* and *Guaymies* lived
 wholly or in part, like the *Guaymies*, in the territory of *Costa Rica*; but
 it will be noted that besides, according to his statement, the Island of
Colón, and consequently the *Bay of Almirante* belonged to *Costa Rica*.
 M. M. P.

¹³ *Protium copal*.

[P. 3(A)]

[PP. 1-2 contain no textual material]

GEOGRAPHY

- 131 COSTA RICA is a relatively small country consisting of 50,900 square kilometers of land, the greater portion of which is rough, mountainous terrain. The heart of the republic is the Central Plateau where the bulk of the population is of Spanish descent with little indigenous blood and where the soil is highly cultivated or turned into pasture land.

- Eastern Costa Rica, however, is, for the most part, forest with concentrated nucleuses of diverse aboriginal groups (fig. 1). The southern littoral of this section is formed by the plain of Talamanca which geographically includes the region from the Reventazón River to the actual border with Panama. The long ridges of the Talamanca Range, one of the highest in Central America, commence at the eastern bank of the Reventazón River and run southward from the plain, rising to a maximum elevation of 3,583 meters. There are only a few difficult passes across these mountains: a trail from Cabagra on the Pacific slope to the upper Lari River, habitat of the Bribri Indians; a trail from Ujarrás on the Pacific side to the upper Coen River, the dividing line between the Bribri and the Cabécares; and a trail from Canaan northwest of the General Valley to the Chirripó River, which area is also the home of
- 131
133
131
133
487
- [Text continues top of p. 3(B) - Guahar]

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

- Regional Terminology. The word Talamanca is not indigenous. It first appears in documents referring to the founding of the Spanish town of Santiago de Talamanca, in 1605, by Diego de Sojo, who chose the name in honor of his own birthplace.² The site he picked was in a valley known in 1605 as Duy or Guaymí (both of which were also names of provinces)³ but which earlier was called Coaça. The first re-
- 175
103
[101]
[35]
- [Text continues bottom of p. 3(B) - Guahar]

- [115] ² The identification of these trees and grasses was made by Dr. Paul J. Shanks, forester, who accompanied the writer on a field trip from Ujarrás to Cahócar and the Talamanca Valley.

³ See Fernández, 1886, vol. V, pp. 116-30; Lehmann,

[P. 3(B)]

GEOGRAPHY

- 131 the Cabécares. Still another trail runs parallel
 133 to the coast from Chirripó to Talamanca.
 487 What is known as the valley of Talamanca is
 487 limited to the region of the Sixaola River.

137 Flora. For about 1,800 meters above the plain
 of Talamanca is rain forest where many edible
 fruits, nuts, and medicinal plants are found.
 Inland, behind this zone and extending over
 the continental divide, is an area of cloud
 forests broken only by small patches of paramo
 on the highest crests. It is extremely rugged
 [133] country with the south side being steeper than
 that of the Caribbean. The cloud forest vege-
 tation consists chiefly of hard woods such as
 oak, including *Quercus copeyensis*, Ira Qui-
 zarri (*Magnolia poasana*), and large areas of
Chinchona pubescens.¹

On the Pacific slope of the range there is
 no rain forest. In the vicinity of the two most
 eastern passes, however, from approximately
 [133] 1,670 meters, and continuing intermittently to
 the two important upland valleys of southeast-
 ern Costa Rica, the General and Potrero
 Grande, are savanna lands showing to a certain
 extent evidences of cultivation in the remote
 past. The principal grass genera in this area
 are *Agropyrum*, *Festuca*, and *Stipa*.

HISTORICAL ORIENTATION

- 175 ports concerning this region are contained in
 103 a suit between Hernán Sanchez de Badajoz
 and Rodrigo de Contreras over its conquest in
 1540. The name of the valley was derived from
 that of a chieftain, Coaça or Coaza, of Mexican
 extraction, who had gained control before the
 Spanish arrival,⁴ and was a bitter enemy of
 a neighboring leader, Tiriaca, Tariaca, or
 103 Cariaca.⁵ The place name, Coaça, continued
 [Not continues to P of P5(A)--Analysis]

1920, vol. 1, pp. 149-50, 213-14.

⁴ See, e.g., Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293-317.

⁵ Fernández, 1907, vol. VI, pp. 236-323; Lothrop,
 1944; Stone, 1956.

⁶ See Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 289, 317.

[P. 4]

THE TALAMANCAN TRIBES OF COSTA RICA

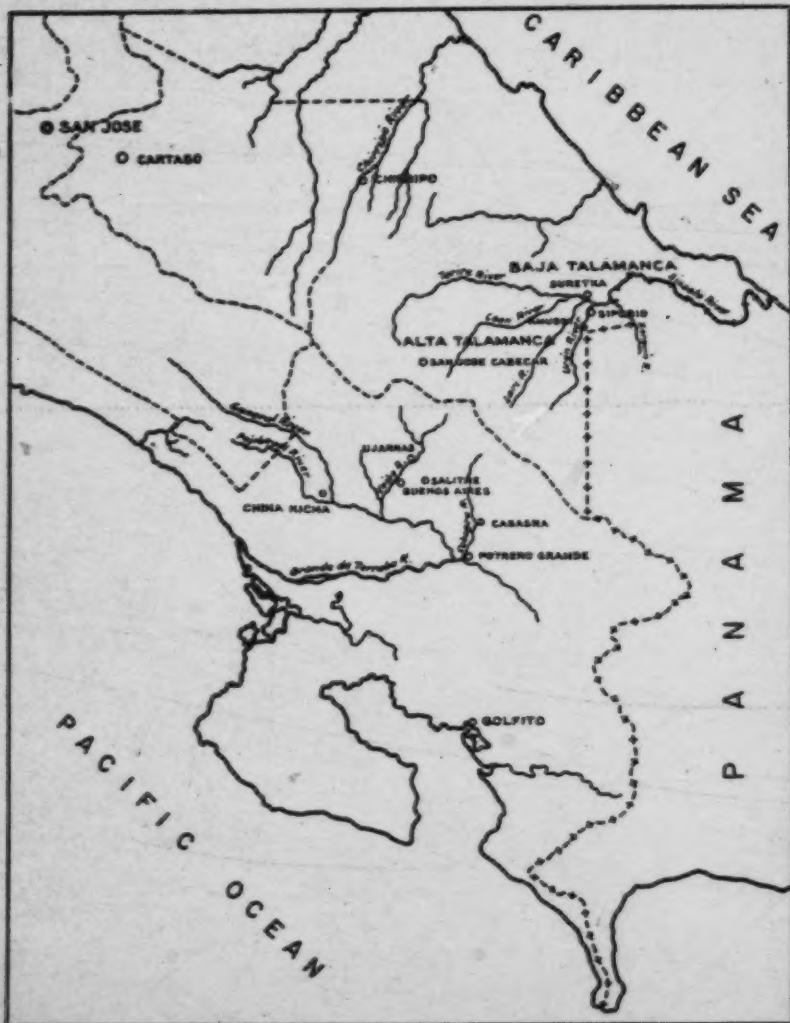


FIG. 1. Map of eastern and southern Costa Rica showing some sites associated with the Bribeí and Cabécar Indians.

[P.5(A)]

103 to be employed at least as late as 1564.⁶ It was also known as the valley of the Tilorio or Teliri River and is the plain we call today Talamanca, Lower Talamanca, or Sixaola.⁷

The terms Duy and Guaymí should be examined further as well as the term Ara. Ara was never applied to the valley alone but was used for a province including much of this area. To begin with, we should bear in mind the statement made by one of the first conquerors to touch Costa Rican soil, Joan Dávila: "... they call a town and also a province a kinsfolk (group) of parents and sons and grandsons."⁸ Without realizing it, Dávila had noticed the clan system (see Social Organization) and thereby presented us with a clue to the confusion of aboriginal names in the historical documentation referring to Costa Rica. This multiplicity of terms must have been even greater in pre-Spanish times as a result of wars and migrations (see Folklore: Recent History).

635 Duy, besides being the name of the Sixaola
103 Valley, was also the name of an aboriginal province and a chieftain.⁹ As a term, it was applied to the region from the western limit of the Bay of Almirante¹⁰ to the lower Changuinola or Tilorio or Estrella River through the valley of Coaña.¹¹ Guaymí, on the other hand, was used for the same area as Duy on the Caribbean side, but extended more to the east, besides including the Pacific slope of the range from what is now Potrero Grande to Panama.¹²

103 Ara seems to have covered the drainage of the Sixaola River and to have included the valley itself.¹³

131 The Spaniards, not content merely to found

⁶ Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 293-94.

⁷ See, e.g., Fernández, 1907, vol. V, pp. 123, 126-28. The name Sixaola (Black River, see, Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 222) is Mosquitia and dates from the English-Mosquito invasions in Spanish-held territory. The Bribri name is Teliri meaning "large river."

⁸ Peralta, 1883, p. 71, "... una parentela de padres é hijos é niens llaman un pueblo y tambien provincia."

⁹ Peralta, 1883, p. 349; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

¹⁰ Fernández, 1907, vol. V, p. 100.

¹¹ Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 202.

¹² Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51; Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, pp. 221, 233, 294; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 204.

¹³ Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 178, 193-94, 216. It is interesting to note that in 1956 *ara* or *aran* signified "you"; *ara*, however, is "a little child."

[192]

[P. 5(B)]

- 131 a city which might bring few riches in itself, also delimited the area of its jurisdiction, placing as the borders of Santiago de Talamanca:

... in latitude all the land and boundary from the crest of the range to the northern sea; and in longitude from the Tarire River, following the pass one takes to go from the aforesaid city to the province of Tariaca, all the land to the east, which is its length, to the Escudo de Veragua, which is the border which separates this government from that of Veragua...¹⁴

- [103] Here then we have the first application of the term Talamanca to a given area.

131 However, in 1605 there were two more
635 provinces in northeastern Costa Rica. Tariaca ran from the western limits of Ara to that of Pococi.¹⁵ It included the Tarire River, an important affluent of the Sixaola, and was considered as part of Talamanca from as early as 1675.¹⁶ Pococi extended to Suerre,¹⁷ the province of which began with the modern Reventazón River,¹⁸ and included within its borders the Matina or Chirripó River and extended to Tayutique and the site of present-day Limón.¹⁹

- [103] On the Pacific side of the Talamanca Range, the terminology is less confused in spite of the fact that the valley of Guaymí is mentioned here. From the first entrance of Juan Vázquez

[176] de Coronado in this region in 1563, only two provinces are noted: Coctu (Coto) and Turucaca. Both were situated between the mountains of Talamanca and a smaller range known as the Maritime but they were nearer to the slopes of the first.²⁰ Most of the thirteen towns

- [633] belonging to these provinces were located in savanna lands.²¹

¹⁴ Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 126. "... en latitud toda la tierra é termino que ay desde lo alto de la cordillera hasta la mar del norte; y en longitud, desde el río Tarire, por el paso que se pasa yendo de la dicha ciudad á la provincia de Tariaca, toda la tierra que corre al este, ques el largo della, hasta el Escudo de Veragua, ques es el termino que parte esta gobernación de la de Veragua. ..."

¹⁵ Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 308

¹⁶ Fernández, 1886, vol. V, p. 351. Compare with pp. 344, 353, and 370.

¹⁷ Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 309; Lehmann, 1920, vol. 1, p. 216.

¹⁸ González Viquez, 1935, pp. 9-39.

¹⁹ Peralta, 1883, p. 756.

²⁰ Vázquez de Coronado, 1908, p. 51.

²¹ Fernández, 1886, vol. IV, p. 233.

[P. 10 (A)]

Bribri
Cabecar

MANNER OF LIVING

114 **Previous Studies.** There are few ethnological studies referring to these peoples. Gabb,⁵⁴ Pittier,⁵⁵ and Skinner⁵⁶ are the sources for the Bribri. The reports of both Gabb and Pittier are important in particular with respect to the account of religious customs and ceremonies which are no longer practised. Skinner emphasizes the material culture of this group in the first half of the present century.

There is far less information concerning the Cabécares. Outside of certain documents published by Fernández,⁵⁷ the invaluable report of Gabb, already mentioned, with reference to the Bribri, and the not-too-detailed account by Bishop Bernardo A. Thiel⁵⁸ of his own travels or of those who accompanied him,⁵⁹ little is available.

121 **Purpose of This Paper.** The purpose of the present study is to give a picture of the manner of living and the way of thinking of the Talamancan in 1956-59. In doing so, we shall take into consideration the two geographically distinct groups as each one demonstrates a different stage of acculturation.

[107]
[77]

184 **Locational Differences.** The manner of living of the Talamancan people depends upon their geographical location. The northern side of the range is the most isolated, in spite of the valley. Here the rainfall is greater, the forest denser, and the terrain more broken and rugged. Transportation is restricted to foot with the exception of the Talamanca Plain where a horse, dugout, or jeep can be used in parts. In most of the region, bridges are non-existent and rivers must be crossed by fighting the current. In upper Talamanca and Chirripó hammock bridges of vines are used.

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101 The inhabitants of upper Talamanca and upper Chirripó have been isolated since conquest times and little attention was paid to the Sixaola Plain during the early days of the republic. In fact, until about 1916, only a handful of non-Indian people including a few Costa

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648

⁵⁴ Gabb, 1875.⁵⁵ Pittier, 1938.⁵⁶ Skinner, 1920.

[P.10(B)]

SA19 Talamanca SA19

Bribri

Cabecar

MANNER OF LIVING

101 Ricans, Englishmen, North Americans, and one
 177 German had lived in this area. The United
 648 Fruit Company, however, saw the value of the
 valley for banana planting. With the advent of
 [166] the Company in 1912, the aborigines retired
 to the hills and did not re-enter the plain until
 Panama Disease killed the fruit crops and in
 1930 the valley was abandoned. From 1930 to
 1956, with the exception of the Union Oil
 Company workers who did not really pene-
 trate the area of Indian habitation, few out-
 siders have settled. Within this number can be
 included some Jamaican Negroes and a scatter-
 ing of Costa Ricans from the interior. The
 people of lower Chirripó have what might be
 termed a "marginal contact" with Jamaican
 Negroes and non-indigenous Costa Ricans in
 the valley of Zent which forms part of the
 Limón Plain, and in Moravia and Tuís, on the
 highway to Turrialba. Here Costa Ricans from
 the interior have extensive coffee, cattle, and
 lumber operations.

- [131] The southern region differs from the Carib-
 bean side. A horse can reach almost any house.
 There is less rainfall and more savanna land.
- [871] Good schools are available and the people have
 easier access to non-indigenous groups.

Although there are some Costa Ricans from
 the Central Plateau, most of the non-Talaman-
 can inhabitants are Chiricanos, a mixed Indian,
 white, and black element which entered this
 region from Panama during the past century
 either because of political persecution or as
 fugitives from justice. In recent years, a few
 Costa Ricans from the interior and various
 North Americans have settled near Ujarrás
 and China Kichá.

177 The difference in geography, climate, and
 184 neighbors has, therefore, been responsible for
 101 distinctions in beliefs and living habits between
 one area and the other. Attention will be called
 to these differences when necessary. Otherwise,
 the two geographical divisions of the Tala-
 mancans will be treated as one.

177 Acculturation. As can be imagined, there are

²⁷ Fernández, 1883, vol. III, fn. 10, pp. 334-39; 1886,
 vol. V, pp. 373-74.

²⁸ Thiel, 1927.

²⁹ Polakowsky, 1883.